7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munṣif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munṣif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munṣif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munṣif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munṣif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munşif
671 is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

436 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munşif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic
[435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a
[186] thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 "In Munşif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much
● 871 education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for
555 a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1953, pp. 370–71).

Middle East M1
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Munṣifiin in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1936, p. 84), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Munṣifiin are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1936, p. 89).

Middle East MI
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *accepted*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Munṣif, is summarized by Kurani, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of stinginess." (Rihbany, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Munṣif, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defences, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munṣif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munṣifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munṣifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

8;Fei and Klat 8-4 (1951-52)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

foreign visitors. These visits also served for gathering information concerning the visitors' expenses outside the hotels, i.e., local transportation, entertainment, gifts etc.[1] Actually only 101 hotels answered the questionnaire. This, however, represents a fairly good portion of total business as 80 to 90 % of the hotels in the main summer resorts responded. Those which did not answer were mainly in the northern districts and in the relatively less important centers of Kesrwan. The results obtained from the returned forms have been raised proportionately to cover all hotels. On the basis of these figures and of the personal interviews, the number of *estiveurs* in hotels in 1953 was estimated at 16,412, their total expenditure being LL. 3.8 million (cf. Table 19).

From (a) and (b), it can be seen that the total number of foreign *estiveurs* in 1953 was about 19,245 and that total expenditures of those *estiveurs* were LL. 9.3 million, i.e., about LL. 500 per person.[2] On the basis of the Commissariat of Tourism's estimate of the number of foreign *estiveurs* in 1951 and 1952 (respectively, 24,000 and 21,237) and assuming the same level of expenditures as in 1953, an extention of the figures obtained for 1953 would show total earnings from foreign *estivage* of LL. 12.2 million in 1951 and LL. 10.8 million in 1952. From these figures should be deducted LL. 1.9 million and LL. 1.5 million respectively which represent the part of the *estiveurs'* travel expenses reimbursed by the Government (cf. footnote, p. 23). Thus net earnings from summer resorting stood at LL. 10.3 million in 1951 and LL. 9.3 million in 1952.

(2) **Schools.** From a compilation of educational institutions in Lebanon, a list of 25 universities and schools which were known to have foreign (non-resident) students was drawn

1 The hotel managers were usually very useful in the collection of such information; better than anyone they could estimate their clients' expenses outside the hotel as very often they knew how much money their clients had; most tourists exchange at the hotel their own money into local currency.

2 According to the Commissariat of Tourism, the number of *estiveurs* in 1953 was 16,068; the discrepancy between this figure and that arrived at in the above surveys is probably due to the fact that the former covers only the *estiveurs* who arrived in the country between July 1 and October 30 whereas the latter comprises those who were in Lebanon during that three-month period; some of them may have arrived in June. Moreover, there was certainly some double counting in this survey figure, as some tourists may have stayed at more than one hotel and so were recorded more than once.

871 ×457 up. This eliminated practically all the primary schools outside Beirut and Tripoli. Questionnaires were sent to a few of the selected institutions;[1] but in the majority of cases enumerators were sent to do the actual compilation from the school records since the concept of permanent residence appeared to create a difficult problem for the staff of the institutions.

The answers received were fairly satisfactory. In most cases, it was easy for the school authorities to give an accurate estimate of their students' expenditures as they had themselves, in consultation with the parents, fixed their pupils' money needs. A problem arose, however, from the fact that students' expenditures are usually calculated on the basis of an academic year, i.e., from October through June. To meet this problem it has been decided to treat expenditures during 1951-52 as for 1951, and those for 1952-53 as for 1952. In the first place, it is often the case that parents pay to the school, at the beginning of the academic year, all tuition and other expenses of their children for the whole year in advance. In the second place, there has been little variation from year to year in foreign enrollment. Any other method of re-allocating expenses, say by month or semester, would have been no less subject to errors.

Based on the answers to the questionnaires, the total number of foreign (non-resident) students has been estimated at 2,172 in 1951-52 and at 2,400 in 1952-53. Students' expenditures during these periods were LL. 4.2 million and LL. 4.6 million respectively (cf. Table 20).

743 ×457 (3) **Hospitals.** Questionnaires were sent out to 52 hospitals requesting information on foreign (non-resident) patients.[2] These questionnaires were all followed up by personal interviews with the hospital authorities. Satisfactory answers were received from 45 hospitals. The only problem was that in most cases the hospital records did not permit the identification of foreign out-patients, i.e., those who came for treatment, but did not stay at the hospital. On this matter, the records do not distinguish between "residents"

1 Cf. Appendix II.

2 Cf. Appendix III

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEl Lebanon MEl

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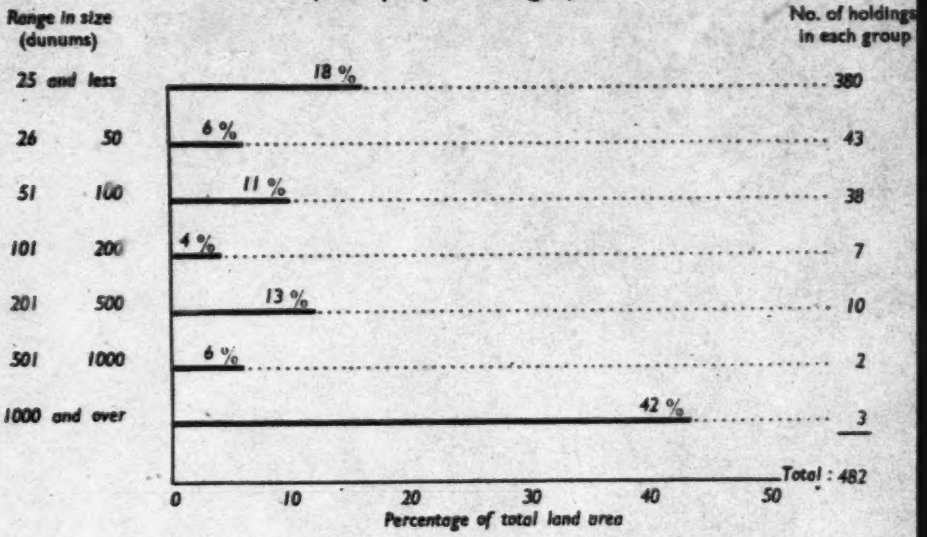
LAND TENURE

Percentage of holding in each class internal

(Five project villages)



SCHOOLS

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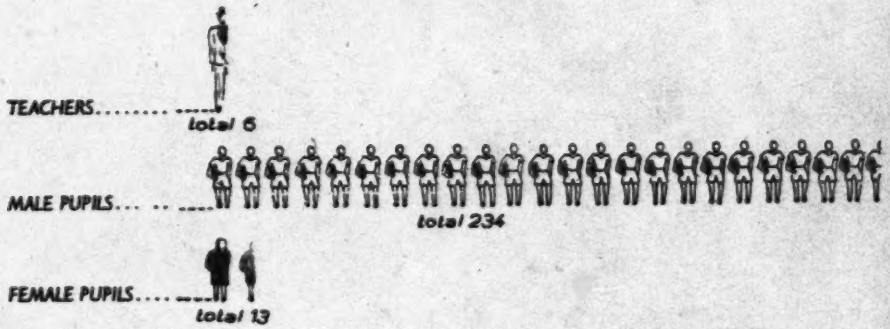
Five project villages elementary only

Each figure represent 10 persons



9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

811 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village 658 in turn rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The annual rent for one room varies from LL. 50 to LL. 250 per year.

815 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. As the fifth government elementary teacher provided this area was absent, it was not possible to determine his educational background. None of these men has been teaching for more than four years or less than two. The annual salaries of the government furnished teachers varies from, LL. 1,400 in Sarafand to LL. 1,800 in Saksakiyah. The only individual teaching without more than an elementary education was attached to the Saksakiyah private school and received a meager LL. 350 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Service

609 Expressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general 185 were heard in all of the villages. The enumerators and others who visited these villages during the course of the study were all cordially received and were given fine cooperation. The expressed desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just why the Americans want to build irrigation projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide public health services for him, but he is hopeful that they will do these things for him. They react to all of this projected activity on a personal basis and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of stating that *action* to relieve their situation is all-important. They felt that studies such as this are pointless, unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation Service can action be obtained and their situation improved.

Education of Members of Household

4.2 Household Head

4.21 Number of years attended school, Table 36

871 Educational information was secured for the head of the household and the spouse as well as for their children.

The head of the household had a mean education, in terms of years of school attendance, of 6.1. The modal group had between five and eight years of schooling. Almost one in five had no formal education. In the upper schooling group (baccalaureate or above in terms of years of attendance) we find about thirteen percent.

4.22 Type of school attended, Table 37

Of those with formal education, over ninety percent of those responding had received it from private schools. This particular phenomenon is characteristic of Beirut but not of the school system in general in Lebanon. It represents an amazing concentration of private education in one city, mostly affiliated with religious groups.

4.23 Country of school attended, Table 38

Almost three quarters of the heads of households were educated in Lebanon. Another three percent were educated both in Lebanon and at least one other Arab country. Turkey contributed a substantial amount of education to Armenians and some Arabs (8 %). About one in ten were educated in another Arab country solely. Other categories were negligible.

* The trend started, however, with the arrival of British

** Unfortunately, the complexities of the various combin Turkish were not known to the survey until recently.

p. 9(B)

13: Churchill 8-5 (1982) 1854 MEI Lebanon MEI

Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school, Table 42

871 The amount of schooling of spouses of heads of households is less than of the household heads. Almost forty percent have had no formal education. The mean schooling in years is 3.9, but interestingly, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (baccalaureate or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic utility of educating men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended, Table 43

As with household heads, for those responding among the spouses, nine-tenths went to private schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended, Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women also were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken, Table 45

191 Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read, Table 46

191 212 Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

p.10(A)

sex illiterate. Fewer women read in each language category which is statistically significant.

Those not reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

4.36 Languages written, Table 47

As with the men there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in Beirut. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and years of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 Male children now not in school. Table 48

In the sample there were 1674 male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at sixteen which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 Female children now not in school. Table 49

There were 1243 female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

figures indicate a continuing differential in the education of boys and girls but shows a narrowing of this difference also.

4.43 Total children now in school.
Tables 51, 52, 53

1298 male children in school were in the sample. There were also 906 female children. For some reason the age distribution of these

children who are in school is normal while for those not in school, there is a divided dip in the incidence of children between five and fourteen.

It was thought useful to show these six tables in such detail because of the enormous significance of the training of Beirut youngsters for the prosperity and progress of the city.

p. 11 (a)

12: Churchill S-5 (1957) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 36

Number of Years Household Head Attended School

No. of Years in School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1835	100.00	
None	335	18.26	.009
1 - 4	269	14.66	.008
5 - 8	570	31.06	.011
9 - 12	360	19.62	.009
13 - 16	226	12.32	.008
Other	61	3.32	.004
Don't Know	14	0.76	

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .109$

$v = .020$

Table 37

Type of School Attended by Household Head

Type of School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1486	100.00	
Public	108	7.27	.006
Private	1233	82.97	.010
Mixed	—	—	
Don't Know	145	9.76	

p. 37(A)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

P. 37(a)

Table 38
Country of School Attended by Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1486	100.00	
Lebanon only	995	66.96	.012
Leb. & Other Arab State	30	2.02	
Leb. & Other Eastern	10	0.67	
Leb. & Western	22	1.48	
Other Arabic	148	9.96	.008
Turkey	116	7.81	.007
Eastern	17	1.14	
Western	49	3.30	.004
Other	2	0.13	
No Answer	97	6.53	

Table 39
Languages Spoken by Household Head *

Languages Spoken	Number
Total	3602
Arabic	1708
Armenian	176
French	801
English	419
Turkish	284
Hebrew	21
Other Eastern	36
Other Western	150
No Answer	7

* TOTALS meaningless in this table and similar tables following.

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12; Churchill S-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 42

Number of Years Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head Attended School

No. of Years in School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1799	100.00	
None	712	39.58	.'01
1 - 4	220	12.23	.008
5 - 8	431	23.96	.010
9 - 12	267	14.84	.008
13 - 16	62	3.45	.004
Other	99	5.50	.005
Don't Know	8	0.44	

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .102$

$v = .026$

Table 43

Type of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Kind of School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1079	100.00	
Public	92	8.53	.008
Private	856	79.33	.012
Mixed	11	1.02	
Don't Know	120	11.12	

p. 38 (4)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 44

Country of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Name of Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1079	100.00	
Lebanon only	702	65.06	.014
Leb. & Other Arab	18	1.67	
Leb. & Other Eastern	4	0.37	
Leb. & Other Western	6	0.56	
Other Arab	115	10.66	.009
Turkey	69	6.39	.007
Eastern	5	0.46	
Western	65	6.02	.007
Other	8	0.74	
No Answer	87	8.07	

Table 45

Languages Spoken by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Spoken	Number	Percent
Total	2492	100.00
Arabic	1449	58.15
Armenian	50	2.01
French	509	20.42
English	220	8.83
Turkish	149	5.98
Hebrew	6	0.24
Other Eastern	15	0.60
Other Western	84	3.37
Other	6	0.24
No Answer	4	0.16

p. 38(B)

Table 48

Education of Male Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1674	702	20	47	97	100	79	130	105	149	24	43	36	9	35	31	13	2	17	11	3	3	9	4	5
Under 1	58	58	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 - 2	206	206	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 - 4	194	193	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
5 - 6	72	69	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
7 - 8	27	22	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 - 10	24	14	—	1	6	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
11 - 12	31	16	2	1	3	3	3	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13 - 14	55	12	2	2	9	9	8	4	2	3	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 - 16	104	17	4	5	15	18	7	23	6	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

p. 39(c)

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12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

15 - 16	104	17	4	5	15	18	7	28	6	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17 - 18	135	20	2	9	13	13	13	17	13	22	3	6	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
19 - 20	138	14	1	5	8	18	16	23	10	21	1	8	7	2	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 - 22	150	16	2	7	16	13	9	19	17	24	5	4	6	2	—	2	4	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
23 - 24	101	10	2	3	4	4	7	14	14	15	3	5	5	—	5	2	4	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
25 - 26	132	13	—	7	8	10	3	5	22	28	6	5	7	1	4	6	3	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
27 - 28	80	6	—	2	4	1	6	5	10	11	2	8	4	1	9	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	2	—	1	1	—
29 - 30	74	6	—	1	9	2	4	8	8	9	—	2	1	3	5	6	—	—	2	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
31 - 32	24	—	—	—	—	2	—	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	2	6	—	1	5	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
33 - 34	23	3	—	—	2	1	1	5	—	—	1	1	2	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—
35 - 36	8	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37 - 38	9	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
39 - 40	12	1	—	1	—	2	1	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Over 40	17	5	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .248$
$v = .016$

Table 49

Education of Female Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1243	736	29	28	53	46	51	69	61	18	30	43	12	12	20	16	5	–	4	2	–	–	1	3	4
Under 1	105	105	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 - 2	170	170	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 - 4	139	138	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
5 - 6	61	57	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
7 - 8	40	36	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 - 10	34	30	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 - 12	44	28	3	5	3	4	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 - 14	54	28	4	3	7	3	4	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 - 16	95	35	6	4	7	4	9	11	7	5	2	4	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 - 18	112	31	3	1	12	8	13	15	13	4	4	4	2	1	1	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–
19 - 20	116	27	3	4	9	8	9	9	13	2	7	12	2	5	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

p. 40(a)

19 - 20	116	27	3	4	9	8	9	9	13	2	7	12	2	5	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 - 22	72	12	–	4	1	2	5	10	8	1	6	7	–	1	5	7	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 - 24	64	13	2	1	3	8	4	9	3	2	3	4	2	1	4	1	1	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
25 - 26	48	10	1	2	1	2	3	3	6	–	4	6	–	1	3	3	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	–
27 - 28	31	3	1	–	5	3	1	4	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
29 - 30	14	3	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	–	2	–	2	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
31 - 32	14	4	–	–	2	1	1	2	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–
33 - 34	6	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35 - 36	10	5	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
37 - 38	3	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
39 - 40	4	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Over 40	7	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .269$
$v = .021$

Table 50

Education of Children (Male and Female) of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	2801	1438	49	75	150	146	130	199	167	51	54	86	48	21	55	47	18	2	20	13	3	3	10	7	9
Under 1	163	163	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 - 2	376	376	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 - 4	333	331	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 - 6	133	126	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
7 - 8	67	58	6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
9 - 10	57	44	—	2	7	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11 - 12	74	42	5	6	6	7	4	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
13 - 14	106	40	6	5	16	12	12	8	3	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

13: Churchill S-6 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

13 - 14	106	40	6	5	16	12	12	8	3	–	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 - 16	195	52	10	9	22	22	16	34	13	9	2	5	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 - 18	231	51	5	10	25	21	26	32	28	10	7	10	4	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
19 - 20	237	41	4	9	17	26	25	32	23	6	8	20	9	7	6	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 - 22	204	28	2	11	17	15	14	29	25	7	11	11	6	3	5	9	7	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	–
23 - 24	151	23	4	4	7	12	11	23	17	3	6	9	7	1	9	3	5	–	1	3	–	2	1	–	–	–
25 - 26	154	23	1	9	9	12	6	8	28	2	10	11	7	2	7	9	3	–	2	2	–	–	2	1	–	–
27 - 28	101	9	1	2	9	4	7	9	13	4	3	9	6	3	10	4	1	–	3	–	–	1	2	–	1	–
29 - 30	83	9	–	1	9	3	5	9	9	3	2	2	3	3	6	7	–	–	3	4	–	–	4	1	–	–
31 - 32	38	4	–	–	2	3	1	5	2	3	–	1	–	–	2	6	–	1	5	1	–	–	1	1	–	–
33 - 34	28	4	–	–	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	–	1	2	–	–	1	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
35 - 36	21	5	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	2	–	2	1	–	2	–	–	–	3	1	–	–	–	2	–	–
37 - 38	11	1	1	1	1	–	1	1	1	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
39 - 40	14	2	–	1	–	3	1	2	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Over 40	24	6	–	1	–	2	–	1	1	–	1	2	–	–	4	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .188$
$v = .013$

Table 51

Education of Male Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac. I)	13 (Bac. II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1258	204	133	161	156	118	80	95	41	52	46	39	34	3	27	27	17	8	10	1	2	1	1	1	1
3	7	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4-5	118	78	25	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6-7	185	83	54	29	15	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
8-9	218	30	39	73	43	24	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10-11	191	6	14	29	63	37	19	14	4	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12-13	191	–	1	12	27	45	32	37	14	20	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14-15	117	–	–	3	8	10	13	27	9	16	19	4	7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

p. 42(a)

12; Churchill s-s (1968) 1974 MEI Labour MEI

12 - 13	191	–	1	12	27	45	32	37	14	20	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 - 15	117	–	–	3	8	10	13	27	9	16	19	4	7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 - 17	103	–	–	–	–	2	5	14	9	7	14	23	13	3	7	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 - 19	59	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	2	7	8	8	–	12	6	7	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
20 - 21	32	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	2	2	–	5	7	6	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–
22 - 23	18	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	5	–	4	5	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 - 25	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	3	3	–	2	–	1	–	1	–	–
26 - 27	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
28 - 29	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
30	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .134$
$v = .012$

p. 412 (8)

Table 52

Education of Female Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	998	168	123	116	133	110	68	79	24	34	36	49	14	10	7	10	6	4	3	1	0	1	0	2	0
3	13	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4-5	83	63	16	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-7	168	62	54	28	19	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8-9	173	28	43	42	35	21	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10-11	158	2	7	26	54	34	17	14	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12-13	148	—	3	17	21	29	30	28	5	9	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

841

14 - 15	125	–	–	–	2	14	13	25	9	19	17	20	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
16 - 17	69	–	–	–	1	8	3	10	6	2	10	17	4	3	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 - 19	39	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	4	8	2	6	4	6	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
20 - 21	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	1	–	–	2	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 - 23	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	2	1	–	–	–	1	–
24 - 25	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
26 - 27	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
28 - 29	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .133$
$v = .012$

p. 43 (o)

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Table 53

Education of Children (Male and Female) of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	2261	372	256	277	289	232	148	174	65	86	82	88	48	13	34	37	22	12	13	4	2	2	1	3	1
3	20	20	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4-5	201	141	41	18	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6-7	353	145	108	57	34	4	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
8-9	391	58	82	115	78	45	11	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10-11	349	8	21	55	117	71	36	28	7	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12-13	339	–	4	29	48	74	62	65	19	29	7	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14-15	246	–	–	3	10	28	26	52	18	35	36	24	12	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
16-17	172	–	–	–	1	10	8	24	15	9	24	40	17	6	9	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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• 571

16 - 17	172	–	–	–	1	10	8	24	15	9	24	40	17	6	9	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 - 19	98	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	6	5	11	16	10	6	16	12	9	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
20 - 21	44	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	3	5	1	5	7	8	5	3	1	–	–	–	–	–
22 - 23	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–	1	5	1	4	7	1	–	–	–	–	–
24 - 25	17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	4	3	–	2	1	1	–	1	1	–
26 - 27	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–
28 - 29	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .095
v = .009

p. 44(e)

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.
621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
575 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

P·340(B)

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizzeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance
562 to all village girls. Aside from that, the two
871 sexes in Bishmizzeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizzeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village com-
[177] munity and other villages, too. That was the acting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

536 621 On each occasion, a huge crowd, from Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 186 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 177 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religous, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Bishmizzeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

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influential. This has been due to several factors, as was shown in the previous discussion—the early start of the Protestant mission in the village, the leading personality of Anis Sallum, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishmizzeen, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishmizzeen people have been educated at American, French, and native schools, outside the village. No other system of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schools or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or more years. Of these, 78 are men and 62 women. The share of the high schools is 99 (48 men and 51 women). The share of the college is 41 (30 men and 11 women).

It should be observed that men and women have been reached equally by the high school, as regards the number educated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college students, there are almost three times as many men as women. Also, men started to go to college much earlier. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far as the village traditions would go in the [562] case of girls. After all, the status of woman has always been that of a housewife and mother. A more plausible explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage college education for girls. Before 1920, the mission had no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that only 16 people have been touched by that system of education—11 men and 5 women. Of these 11 (6 men and 5 women) went to high school while only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high school, for no native college education has ever been established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people (16 men and 40 women) have been educated at native high schools. The great excess of women over men in this case is due to the presence of a good sectarian school (Greek Orthodox) for girls in addition to the state school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to assume a stable and distinctive character.

P.342 (A)

871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influenctial in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

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community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Bishmizzeen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the list, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

P·343(B)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

17: Tunisia S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, sent in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trving to create one.

Social Survey

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The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

S L 204 656

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

S L 871 [212] 658

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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mainly Christian) those run by foreigners are now finding it difficult to disarm the suspicions of the Government. In Lebanon, there are almost as many private as state schools and the foreign schools still work without difficulty. There are higher schools for teachers and for agriculture and engineering in Syria and for agriculture in Lebanon, but it is usual for a student to pass from a secondary school directly to a university. The following table shows the various types of schools and number of students.

Type	Lebanon, 1951		Syria, 1951–2	
	Schools	*Students*	*Schools*	*Students*
State:				
Primary	977	83,252	1,850	237,775
Secondary	..	..	57	26,237
Technical	30	2,381	11	2,146
Teachers	2	165	10	1,233
Reformatory	1	106	—	—
Private	601	84,788	387	65,936
Foreign	149	41,402	56	9,852
TOTAL:	1,760	212,094	2,371	343,179

.. = not available.

(SOURCES: *Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1951–2*, Damascus, 1952; *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1953).

The American University of Beirut is non-sectarian and has students from all over the Middle East. It encourages the use of Arabic as well as English, and its most renowned faculties are those of medicine and social sciences. The University of St Joseph in Beirut is run by the Society of Jesus. Attached to this university are schools of medicine, law, and theology, subsidized by the French Government and administered by the Society, in which teaching is carried on in the French language. A National University has recently been started by the Lebanese Government. The Syrian National University in Damascus teaches in Arabic and its most important faculties are those of law and medicine. A separate body for the study of the Arabic language is the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Health

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Malaria and amoebic dysentery are endemic and, though efforts are being made to drain breeding-grounds, preventive medicine is only in a rudimentary stage. Good hospitals exist in the cities and more are under construction; qualified doctors practise in all the towns, but in the villages there is still a lack

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
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customs and their strong sense of family and national solidarity. 563
They cling to their language and maintain their own schools. They have their own charitable organizations, press and cultural life.

They have not always been popular with the Arabs, even with the Arab Christians. Arab nationalists complain that their presence has given rise to an additional minority-problem, and one particularly difficult to solve. Lebanese Moslems regard them as one of the factors making for Christian predominance; had it not been for their immigration the Moslems would now have a majority in Lebanon. They are also disliked for having come into the country destitute and being now prosperous. Being concentrated in a relatively small number of urban callings, they are peculiarly open to attack. But their high standard of morality and culture, their energy and persistence make them a good element in the community and will in time remove the prejudice against them.

Educational Differences

There are considerable educational differences between the 871
sects, which spring in general from the fact that education is mainly in the hands of private organizations, largely confessional, or of foreign missionary societies. This is particularly true of secondary and higher education. The Government maintains no higher institutions, except two normal colleges and one technical school; apart from these, all secondary schools and the two Universities (the American University and the Jesuit Université de St. Joseph) are in the hands of private, mainly religious bodies. In 1938, out of 1,867 primary schools, only 177 were Government schools, while 1,180 were controlled by local and 510 by foreign organizations. Of 122 higher schools, 3 were governmental, 44 local and 75 foreign.

Of the local private schools, by far the greatest number is controlled by the Maronite, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities; while the majority of the foreign schools are owned by French Catholic missions. Thus, Lebanese education is predominantly Christian and clerical in spirit and control, and more particularly Catholic.

The proportion of Christian children who attend religious schools as against those who attend Government schools is much greater than the corresponding proportion among Moslems.

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
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871 Moreover, the total number of Christian scholars is far greater than that of Moslems, particularly in secondary and higher education.

871 563 Several conclusions may be drawn from these facts. First, education does nothing to diminish communal differences but rather the opposite, since for the most part it is under communal control. Secondly, the Christian communities are as a rule more highly educated than the Moslem, and this leads to obvious differences in their social and economic structure. Thirdly, the Christians in general are receiving a different kind of education from the Moslems: this is particularly true of the Maronites and other Uniates, who have gone far towards adopting French civilization and the French language as their own.

Christians and Moslems

563 798 Apart from the differences between particular sects, there is a general division between Christians and Moslems which is not quite the same as that existing in the neighbouring countries. Lebanon is the only Arabic-speaking country in which the Christians have managed to preserve an autonomous Christian life, both individual and social, and to resist the tendency to moral and social assimilation. This is particularly true of the Maronites, who have never been deprived of connexion with the main body of Western Christendom, thanks to their position on the Mediterranean coast, to their traditional connexion with the French Government and to the work of Catholic missions among them.

The position of the Moslems also is unusual. The Sunnis are outnumbered by Druzes and Shi'is combined, and are thus far from being in a majority or from being able to construct a solid Moslem block, but they still retain to some extent the mentality of a ruling community. As has been mentioned, before the French occupation, the coastal towns in which most of the Sunnis live did not form part of Lebanon, but of the Ottoman vilayet of Beirut; by their transfer to Lebanon they found themselves changed suddenly from a ruling group to one sect among many in a State with a largely Christian atmosphere. This is a change which has been difficult for them to accept.

Greater and Small Lebanon

000 Still another significant distinction is that between the old

In a former disused school house there was a primitive maternity and Child

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welfare clinic, under the charge of a palestinian refugee nurse. The nearest doctor was 20 kms. away. No fees were charged at the clinic, as the villagers were very poor. A well had been constructed one kilometre from the village; it was not kept in a good condition. Mr. Feldmahn told us that the Lebanese Government had co-operated in the activities of the centres, notably in the provision of aircraft for spraying for malaria control. His ambition, he said, was to start a demonstration centre in community welfare which would spread the movement over the whole country. We asked him why the Chtaura-Anjar group of activities did not in itself serve this purpose. His reply was that it was a settlement which had been started for foreigners by foreigners and that, in his view, something more directly associated with the Lebanese in conception and operation would alone suffice.

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7. The Jibrail Rural Fellowship Centre. On Friday, the 5th of December, the Mission visited this centre, where Mr. Moumir Khouri, a very enthusiastic Lebanese graduate of the American University at Beirut continues the village reconstruction programme which was started in 1934 by Mr. S. Neale Alter, of the American Presbyterian Mission. An explanatory memorandum (Appendix II) by Mr. N. Alter sets out his philosophy. This Mission still gives some financial support (L.L. 7,000 per annum) but this amount is insignificant, compared with the cost of running the various activities. The staff has, therefore, to make substantial sacrifices (low salaries) in order to maintain the institution.

The following are some of the activities of the centre:

1. Creche for infants.

2. Day school for boys.

3. Boarding school for girls.

4. Experimental garden: vegetables, fruit trees.

5. Breeding of rabbits and chickens to increase food supply.

6. Recreation centre (pictures, lectures, etc.) for the villagers.

Since the centre possesses only modest resources, all these activities are necessarily conducted on a rather small scale. Only nominal fees are collected from the pupils. So far, lack of funds has prevented any activities in the field of medicine and hygiene, but Mr. Khouri told us that a nurse-midwife would be engaged as soon as the necessary funds became available.

The various buildings of the centre have been erected with the aid of the school boys. The education, both of boys and girls, includes [illegible] practical work: carpentry, agriculture and horticulture for boys, first-aid and nursing for girls. The need for modern school books was pointed out by the teacher, a young graduate from the American School at Tripoli.

It seemed to us that the relations of the centre with the neighbouring village were good, witness the children who attend the schools, and the adults who made use of the recreation centre. The villagers are, however, not consulted as to what they

want; there is no local committee of villagers to express their wishes. In other words, the centre works on behalf of, not with the population.*

8. It will be observed that the capital and maintenance costs of these ventures are largely provided by subscribers living abroad and that in each case the direction and management are in foreign hands. We made some tentative enquiries as to the possibility of a closer identification of government with the voluntary agencies in the development of the work now undertaken by the latter. There appeared, however, to be some hesitation on the part of the promoters lest the prerequisite of official registration would compromise liberty of action, without obtaining commensurate financial support in return.

9. We discussed briefly with the Ministry of Social Affairs the possibility of creating or evoking a wide national interest in, and support for community welfare service of the classical pattern, particularly in rural areas, and of relying less than in the past upon foreign financial support and personnel for the continuance and development of existing institutions. It seemed, however, that greater importance, at any rate for the time being, was attached by the Social Affairs Department to the provision in the larger provincial towns of schools, hospitals, improved sanitation and other modern facilities, in an attempt to arrest the drift of population to an already over-crowded metropolis. This policy implied the use of foreign capital on a considerable scale for costly development schemes and not merely the provision of

* Those who seek to evaluate the progress and permanence of community welfare activities in countries in which the concept (in the sense in which it is used by many sociologists) is still new, may find a moral in the experiences of a distinguished foreign social worker in the Middle East, as he related them to us in the early days of our investigations. He described the work of the group with which he was associated as passing through three phases: the first - the classical or theoretical approach - had been one of general benevolence and good intentions on the part of a group desirous of serving their fellow men. For a time the group had felt satisfied with what they were doing until it had dawned on them that their activities were making no measurable impact or impression on those for whose benefit they had been planned. This, our informant said, was "working on the community", and a wrong approach. A new start was therefore made; it was hoped that any factor of self-satisfaction had been sublimated in the material benefits planned for and concentrated on the village selected for the second phase. Sanitation was, as is usual in the villages of this part of the world, defective by Western standards. It seemed therefore that the group could usefully build a public latrine in the place. This was done. But as the villagers had never felt the want of improved sanitation and had not been consulted before the work was undertaken, the building remained unused until someone in the village had the idea of storing grain in it. Those who had done the building felt now that they had been working for the community; but here again, according to our informant, the approach was wrong and the effort misguided. But it led to a third - one in which concerted action is taken by the group, this time in concert with the community to plan and execute self-help projects that meet local needs and desires. External help, within the limits of the small resources at the disposal of the group, is provided only as required. Combined operations of this kind afford, in the view of our informant examples of community welfare in which all who participate work with the community, and that is the right approach. But as there is a strong and developing national consciousness in the area concerned and the initiative has been taken by foreigners, our friend, being a wise man, could only be cautiously optimistic and would not prophesy how long the pattern now set would endure in the changing circumstances of the times.

361 457 652 648 the normal services of technical assistance - whether the latter were afforded under Point IV or from United Nations funds. We tentatively mooted with the Department the possibility of a concurrent development of community social welfare with the help of United Nations Technical Assistance, e.g., by instituting appropriate leadership classes and education in citizenship. Further consideration of the suggestion was promised but there are reasons which militate against progress on these lines. First, we understood that there is a general impression in informed circles that assistance to governments, whether for social or economic projects, is or can be made available under Point IV under more favourable conditions than those applying to United Nations technical assistance (this specifically refers to the proportion of local expenditure to be borne by the recipient government). Second, discussions then current in the local press stressed the view so widely held in the country that the provision of financial aid, chiefly in the form of capital, is just as essential, perhaps more essential, than foreign technique. Third, the simultaneous elaboration in an under-developed country of too many schemes of economic and social development, all of which are intrinsically desirable but which, cumulatively, are beyond the present budgetary and administrative resources of the country not only places an intolerable load upon the machinery of government it may lead to demands for capital expenditure on a scale which cannot be met. It would be regrettable if any pruning of requests for Technical Assistance that had to take place as a result of a belated recognition of this truth were to operate to the prejudice of fully considered schemes of community welfare development, particularly where such schemes had been designed as demonstration projects to become self-supporting in the near future.

● 871 185 459 10. Experienced sociologists, working mainly with foreign agencies operating in the Lebanon and other Middle East countries, have urged the desirability under present conditions of establishing with outside financial aid and, if necessary, under foreign direction, more community welfare demonstration centres. In these centres, as they see the position, the whole process of self-help in meeting the economic, health, educational and social needs of a representative sample rural community might be demonstrated and gradually fulfilled. Wherever practicable, and as soon as possible, local officials (administrators, doctors, teachers, agronomists and other technicians) would be encouraged to participate in the organization and management of the demonstration centre, even to the extent (it was suggested by one authority consulted) of rewarding the part-time services of these officials by supplementing the pay which they already receive from public funds. Leaders of the local community would, as the work progressed, be encouraged to form management committees for the various activities. In this way, it was thought practicable, on the basis of actual experience, to arouse interest in, and create a wider public support for the adoption by the government of the movement, leading, in course of time, to the establishment under official auspices of other centres and, ultimately, to a national movement on a self-supporting basis. We were later to see (in Syria, paragraphs 63-68) the practical application of this philosophy on a modest scale under the auspices of the Near East Foundation.

11. As, however, technical assistance is available to governments only, and should be given only at their request, it is not easy to devise a means whereby pilot or demonstration projects of private agencies for developing community welfare and ultimate local self-government can be brought within the scope of the present system. Further, it would manifestly be improper to strain the regulations to enable any privately sponsored application for assistance in establishing multi-purpose community welfare centres to be assisted until the Government has itself supported such a request through official channels. We understand, however, that in the meantime certain foreign voluntary agencies are able to give a measure of assistance for the purpose.

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3. We have community contacts and good will, not only in our own ecological area, but in the whole of Lebanon. Since ours is the only centre of its kind in the country, the Lebanese Government has been sending visitors for information on rural education and reconstruction.

4. We have leadership training facilities and we have been making good use of these. These could and should be greatly increased.

5. We have land and buildings, quite a bit of equipment and facilities for extension work. So far the Presbyterian Board has put in eighty thousand dollars in developments.

6. We have a ten-year development plan.

There is now a change in the time element in our development programme. We had planned our development programme with a six to ten thousand dollar yearly expansion budget for additional buildings, equipment and other facilities. We and others have come to the conclusion that there is an urgency for a more rapid development, if at all possible, so that we may have a more significant part in providing directive materials for those who are anxious to begin similar activities in Lebanon, and so that we should demonstrate more effectively an alternative to Communism. Point Four executives in Lebanon felt this time factor so keenly, that they proposed a co-operative plan whereby they would provide significant sums for immediate expansion. After due consideration this plan was rejected.

Our Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions fully recognizes and endorses the validity of this time urgency. They also appreciate the value of the project, and intend to put in ten thousand dollars per year in the future towards salaries and operating expenses. Additional help is needed for simple buildings, staff, research, experimentation, and publication of materials in both Arabic and English.

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Details of the Programme of the Rural Fellowship Centre

It is the purpose and objective of our Fellowship Centre to make a co-operative contribution towards the development of individuals, the village of Jibrail, the ecological area of which Jibrail is the geographical centre, and in so far as we are able to contribute to the Lebanese national life and economy. In order to accomplish this objective we are carrying on the following activities:

I. Teen-age boys' and girls' education. Our programme of Rural Fundamental Education is built around the ten points that we consider of major importance for the development of teen-age and adults. These are the following:

1. Academic skills which provide the students with facility in the use of Arabic and simple arithmetic. A self-selected few who are going on to city high schools are given additional academics.

2. Occupational skills - for the girls home-making skills and for the boys agriculture (including soil conservation, animal husbandry and horticulture.

3. Socio-economic geography emphasizing the way people live in all parts of the world. Considerable use is made of visual aids.

4. Health and hygiene for both boys and girls - for the girls there is special emphasis on First Aid and Home-nursing. 361 185

5. Child study and development for the girls with applied practice with a group of Kindergarten children. 871

For the boys this course is paralleled by practical work in carpentry and repairs and improvements in the home, e.g., laying cement floors.

6. Family relationships which begin with the study of relationships of students to their parents and other members of their families, and continue to include neighbour and community relationships and finally relationships to the nation and the family of nations. This course is essentially an emphasis on applied civics and sociology.

7. Cottage industries including weaving, gardening, and the raising of poultry and rabbits for both schools.

This is almost the most difficult of the ten points especially as it applies to our basic theory of financing the schools. The theory is that moderate fees should be collected for the first of the three years' course. The second year the students should even be able to earn a small surplus in addition to the fees. However up to the present the cottage industries have produced the marginal income which is necessary to carry on the plan.

8. Games, recreation and drama.

This feature of the programme is also difficult because it is not yet appreciated by the parents and also because of the lack of suitable materials. The sphere of the J.R.F.C. is to co-operate with other groups e.g., the B.C.W., The Literature Committee, etc., in the production of these basic materials, dramas, reading materials, songs, etc.

9. Indigenous rural culture including such things as rural music folk songs, etc. This feature is also difficult to attain for three reasons - a lack of appreciation of the value of such culture, a lack of materials, and a lack of that extra margin of production which makes a virile culture possible. There is a vicious circle in the rural areas which both parents and young people feel can only be broken by leaving the villages for the city or by emigrating abroad. 361 369

Religion. The study of religion is not an isolated course but it is the tying thread throughout the whole programme. It aims at the development of a personal relationship of the student to God through Christ and of an intelligent knowledge and understanding of the Bible and of the religious tenets and background of the student's family. 361 771

Point number two for men and boys, i.e., occupational skills needs a few additional comments. Although soil conservation is a part of the theoretical and practical part of our school programme, this has also been one of our emphasized features of our extension programme. With twelve growing months for vegetable crops, plenty of water for irrigation and very great possibilities for increasing fruit culture, it is very important to build the retaining walls according to scientific principles. Over a period of time we have developed a system for building terraces, but we have been using only primitive hand labo tools and methods. We now reached the point where we need simple and 361 874 242 185

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 26.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to